/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

/60/

619 3. Political Structure

These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas. [185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

627 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

● 624 701 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary; rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the [622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macusi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

Surára
Pakidai

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women [482] carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened, they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief 484 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in 622 the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the 554 supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected, of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is able to make connections with the hekurá and serras /sierras/ (see pp. 200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of Hewemãõ is Kurikayawõ. He will be followed by Inxinemá, who is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemá, who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take over the leadership.

● 624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomirawõ, a modest, reserved, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidái the succession of chiefs is the same.
624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that
619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief Karakarawõ, because his three younger brothers who could have taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawõ did have a son, Karenauõ, but he was still very young, so that there was nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time being to the war chief Porêhiwõ as a substitute. At the same time he and the older Pakidái men asked the chief of the friendly Surára, Hewemãõ, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses, magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidái attended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, who was given a very thorough training by Hewemãõ. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái even lived

Pakidái
Surára

/61 cont./

622 together for several years, both in the sierra during the dry season
619 and at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá during the
624 rainy season. In the long run, however, the war chief Porêhiwõ did not like this, and there were also differences of opinion with the young chief, so he and his brother Kaxiribewõ, with their families temporarily withdrew from the tribe and remained alone in Taraquá, the Pakidái maloka on the middle Demini.

As a result of the youthful exuberance of the not yet fully mature Pakidái chief Karenauõ, the previously good relationship between the Surára and Pakidái was unfortunately slightly disturbed. Yet Karenauõ really had every reason to be grateful to Hewemãõ.

769 The discord began in March 1956 during the great festival
619 in memory of the dead, which the Surára as hosts and the Pakidái
622 as guests always celebrate together, and in which some friendly Puseheweterí and Xiriána families also took part. During this gathering it is customary for Hewemãõ to be acknowledged as the head by the guests, even by their chiefs, and for his orders to be followed. Young Karenauõ, however, refused to do this. He suddenly felt himself very strong because the member of Pakidái, of course, is considerably larger than that of the Surára. The rivalry between the chiefs increased from day to day and extended even to the members of the two tribes. It was only thanks to the magnanimous, wise attitude of Hewemãõ and the mediation of the chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ, who returned to his tribe and exerted great influence, that greater tensions or even military encounters could be avoided. This was only to be welcomed, for there is a long, traditional friendship between the two tribes, which has deepened consanguineously as a result of intermarriages.

(166) When the festival was over, at the end of March 1956, the Pakidái again moved to /62/ Taraquá on the middle Demini and the Surára to the Cachoeira dos Índos on the upper Aracá. But at this point I was to experience a great surprise. Three Pakidái men, with their families, no longer followed their chief Karenauõ, but joined Hewemãõ and thus actually emigrated to the Surára.

Surára, Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769 When the mixing of bone ashes, which lasted about two hours, was finished, Poréhiwõ returned the half-empty little jamaru vessels to the relatives, who, amid lamentations, took them for further safekeeping. Then a solemn procession began, in which, however, the Surára chief did not take part. Karenauõ, the Pakidái chief, strode ahead, followed by Poréhiwõ and Kurikayawõ, each of whom held in his hand one of the large jamaru vessels filled with bone ashes, a little urucú, and a few down-feathers of the gavião-real; all three were singing prayers. Behind them, weeping and lamenting, walked the closest relatives, who carried the small jamaru vessels. The warriors participating in the ceremony formed the end of the train.

[533] [782] This procession, which walked around the maloka courtyard several times, came to an end, after half an hour in front of the chief's hut, with a prayer sung in unison.

[517] Meanwhile night had descended and most of the members of the two tribes were lying in their hammocks, sitting around the fire, or calling on each other, singly or in family groups, in order to chat. Loud, happy laughter often resounded. Opposite the hut of the Surára chief, however, six warriors who wore the feathers of the gavião-real in their hair had kindled three blazing fires, upon which, in several black, round-bottomed clay vessels (see p. 115) they cooked banana soup until midnight. During this time a medicine-man helper who carried a bow and arrow in his hand ran around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard, singing loudly, and requested the assistance [625] of the hekurá for the success of the soup. After that, general quiet set in; only two men made their rounds in front of the maloka, as they did every night, in order to warn the inhabitants, if necessary, of a hostile attack (513).

• [624] [805]

513. The war chief divides up the watches each evening. The warriors have a feeling about when their time is up and they must waken their successors; as a rule this is done after two or three hours.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with
[147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexf (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After
[262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat-
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká,
114 which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds
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515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
/8/
142
411
302
291
516

Ill. 12. Surára warriors

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→

Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

137
241
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516
412

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

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114
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302
291
516
624

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

624
571

[For the role of the guapo in Yanoama society and his interaction with the community, see category 554.]

291 /203 cont./
Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
● [624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

/213/

197 174 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.

143 174 Finally, it is necessary to point out that, judging from the genetic constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as Tunebo, Barí, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture in South America, from which a number of traits have survived in the more highly developed cultures.

622 [624] [793] Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a military leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally. The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son, about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother, about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a local group do not exist.

/213 cont./

793 624 [622] For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 123 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the impression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly [276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 775 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after [841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a [126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made [532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals: he was the guapo.

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/2 [see p. 11-An.]

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
● [624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

St Leyrise et al. D, E-S (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanesma SQ18
Waica

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanesma could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hăwiewen*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kăilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hăwiewen* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barlow, 1951, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1956, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1959.